1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 601, 593 Ifalik

"One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifalik belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for siblings. There is no term for 'brother' or male sibling, and none for 'sister' or female sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means 'my sibling of the same sex' (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means 'my sibling of opposite sex' (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifalik there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors' dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother

and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, 'If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea.'

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he

denied that emphatically. 'Very bad that--all same America.' He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airō), discussed on p. 98."

4: Krämer--31
116, 604, 593

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Mother-right exists. It has resulted from the right of work and duty, for the man does little. The husband does not have anything to do with the family; it is the brother of the mother who does.

12: Lutke--131-132
116, 175, 593

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

I would have given a good deal to have had a man like him [AN: chief Alaberto] at my side at the beginning of the exploration of the Caroline Islands. Even now he could be very useful, and I suggested that he accompany us to [132] Ouleaï. He replied that his wife would be very upset. When I offered to take her too, he shrugged his shoulders and said that they had better stay in Farröilap in spite of the dreadful conditions.

28: Spiro--29-30
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though parents and children distinguish between biological and classificatory children and parents, it is true that the relationship between these relatives is closer than the relationship between 'strangers.' This is to be expected given the [30] existence of multiple family dwellings, where all adults function as parents to all the children. A woman treats her sisters' children with as much care and love as she will her own, though there is little question that the degree of love and intimacy that obtains [sic] between biological parent and child is greater than that between persons so classified culturally. As in our own culture, I think it fair to say that if a complete stranger were to enter an Ifaluk house, and observe the interpersonal relationships, it would take him little time to distinguish the individual family units within the extended family household."

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It

is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--82 [2]
116, 854, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Adults not only want children because of their great love for infants, but also for a very practical reason, as providers for them in their old age. 'Suppose baby he grew up, he take fish, chow, coconut, he give mama and pappa.'"

28: Spiro--91-92
116, 862, 593, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--95 [5]
116, 856, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Parents and other adults encourage children to walk, when they first show signs of walking, but they do not stimulate them to walk prematurely. As they take the child to the lagoon in the morning, they may hold his hand, permitting him to walk, rather than be carried. (15) The baby's walking is facilitated by a wicker-work structure, built like a play-pen. It has a narrow base, and the sides fan out as they extend from the base to the top. The infant is placed in it at certain times, and his standing is supposed to strengthen his legs. (16)"

"15. With reference to sibling rivalry, it is of interest to note that older siblings have been observed knocking down their younger siblings when the latter begin to walk.

16. This structure presents a minor light on the form-function controversy in anthropology, and illustrates the danger of interpreting a culture trait on formal grounds [96] only. Its form looks like a play-pen, and I was confident that it was. Later as I came to know the culture, I was perplexed: why should a play-pen be used in a culture in which small children are never left alone. It was not till a number of months had passed, and I had actually seen one used, that my question was finally answered."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

"We may now examine some of these patterned kin interractions. But the reader should bear in mind that interractions recorded here are empirical observations and/or generalizations. Any attempt to elicit ideal patterns of interraction from informants was futile.

Mother--child: once the mother has weaned her child, her major responsibility has been discharged. She has socialization functions, to be sure, but aside from these there is little that distinguishes her relationship to the child from that of others. The mother seems to have a more intimate relationship with her daughter than with her son. This may be a function of her responsibility to induct the daughter into female economic life. The girl, we shall see, assumes greater economic responsibility than the boy, and it is the mother that is her most important mentor. Generally, the mother's relationship to the young children is a very permissive one, so that here authority is not always readily accepted. She then may either use physical force, or perhaps acquiesce in the child's demands. For example, the mother of little two year old Velaut (male) called for him to come home while he was sitting with a group of children and myself. He refused. She then came over to where we were sitting, and he still refused. Whereupon, she lifted him bodily from the ground and carried him home. On another occasion the mothers of the children with whom I was playing asked the children to come home to eat. They refused, and the mothers could not cope with the situation. I came to their aid by

taking the children home. At times the child's disobedience provokes her into anger and punishment. As I was sitting in one house, two young boys (parallel cousins), about four and five respectively, came in while we were eating some taro. They were urged by their mothers to eat, and after refusing, one was persuaded to eat something. The other refused, and when the women urged him to eat he raised his voice and shouted, no. As his mother [98] continued to encourage him to eat, he began to imitate her behavior. At this she lost her temper, seized a coconut leaf, and was going to beat him, but he jumped up and out of the house, with his mother following. He eluded her, and she returned to the house, her temper gone, all-smiles."

28: Spiro--98
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"Father--child: Though the father is kept from intimate contact with the infant for some time, when he can begin to hold and play with it, his interest is as great as the mother's. After the infant is weaned, the children probably spend more time with their fathers than with their mothers. The father takes the young child to the canoe house with him, and keeps him with him for the better part of the day. The father plays with the child and even feeds him if the mother is away in the taro patch. My impression, is that the father or men in general, make a much greater fuss over the young children than do the mothers. If a child needed medication, almost invariably the father, not the mother, would bring him to me, and would ask what could be done. When a young girl would come to draw for me, the father would accompany her. During a stiff blow in the middle of November, I met Taraveliman, a young father of three children. He was very concerned and worried about his children, saying that if the storm were to drive the family out of the house it would create a real problem since one child was a baby, and another had a wounded leg. Furthermore, the third had been adopted by a family in Felarik, and he did not know how he was faring, so that, when I met him on the path, he was on his way to see the latter. Interest of parents in children is by no means confined to their childhood. Parents take great pride in the activities of their older children. Dr. Burrows collected many songs, in which the mother praises her son for some accomplishment. During the dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the

dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the dances, Wotriliwok, a lad of about twenty was being decorated by his mother. She was making a great fuss over him, but when he saw that I was observing them he told her to stop. Parents become lonesome for their grown sons and daughters who have gone on a trip or moved to another island, and the latter become lonesome for their parents. One of the most important reasons for inter-island travel is to visit with one's departed family. Tom called his dog by a native name, which means 'You have been absent for a long time', in memory of his son who was in Yap and had not returned for a long time."

28: Spiro--99 [3]
116, 593, 867, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians·
Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--100-101
116, 593, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -4
Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talemememar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--118 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 593, 864 Ifalik

"Though boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship that permits of physical contact--siblings of the opposite sex. Adult siblings of the opposite sex can have no physical contact at all, but children may and do. They sit on each other's laps, lie together arm in arm, or with arms encircling each other. This occurs until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother."

28: Spiro--129
116, 831, 593, 115

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

28: Spiro--145
116, 264, 512, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right